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*Author of "The Life of St. Thomas Becket," "The Relics of
St. Thomas of Canterbury," &c.*



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HENRY MORSE STEPHENS

The Tombs of the Archbishops in Canterbury Cathedral.

THE widespread interest excited by the problem of the rightful ownership of the tomb that was examined in Canterbury Cathedral on March 8 and 10, 1890, justifies an attempt to put on record the conclusions that have been reached respecting that tomb, and an opportunity is thus afforded of a few words respecting some of the other tombs of Archbishops which present matter for discussion. The tomb lately opened has held quite an exceptional position amongst the tombs in the Cathedral. It is unlike the others in appearance, and looks more like a shrine than an ordinary tomb. A conjecture often repeated suggested that as, at the destruction by fire of this part of the Cathedral in 1174, the monks, according to Gervase, cast down from various beams the shrines of the saints, this tomb might possibly have been made to receive the fragments of the shrines, together with what remained of their contents. This rumour has now been set at rest for ever, as the monument was found on examination to cover a stone coffin, and to contain nothing else.

ARCHBISHOP HUBERT WALTER, 1205.

Within that stone coffin lay the desiccated body of an Archbishop in full pontificals. All that had been made of linen or of wool had perished. Under the silken vestments no trace remained of clothing, but there was a haircloth band round the waist. The alb had gone, but the front apparels of silk belonging to it were in their proper places. The pallium also had decayed, but two pins that fastened it were on the shoulders—a third was looked for in vain—and two pieces of lead with their silk coverings were there. Indeed, in one of the pieces of lead, protected by it and the silk, a small portion of the wool of the pallium has survived. The mitre on the head was of silk, and as the threads with which it had been sewn

had decayed, it was easy to see how the oblong piece of silk was folded to form the mitre. The chasuble was ample, the orphreys forming an inverted Λ at the bottom, the arrangement resembling that of the orphreys of the chasuble of St. Thomas at Sens, except that the bars which are double there are single here, and it was bordered by a very beautiful narrow band of lace. The pattern of the silk of the dalmatic was different from that of the chasuble, the designs of both being very rich. These vestments are twelfth century work; the stole older still, probably dating back to the time of Lanfranc. The buskins are of silk, embroidered in lozenges which are filled with beautiful crosses and other designs. The sandals are low boots, also of silk, adorned with little stones, and embroidered very beautifully with quaint monsters and patterns. The ring contains a Gnostic gem, engraved with a serpent and the name of the god *Chnuphis*. The chalice in silver parcel gilt resembles a modern ciborium; the paten has on it an *Agnus Dei* with an appropriate inscription, and on the outer rim is this elegiac couplet:

Ara crucis, tumulique calyx, lapidisque patena,
Sindonis officium candida byssus habet.

The lettering is of the time of Henry the Second. These lines, which are also found on a portable altar in the Church of St. Mary in Capitol, at Cologne,¹ of the twelfth century, may be rendered thus:

His Cross the altar, and His sepulchre
The chalice, and the stone with which 'twas closed
The paten, and this folded linen fair
The winding-sheet in which His limbs reposed.

A light pastoral staff of cedar wood with a knop containing three engraved gems (the fourth has been lost), and a very simple volute or head, rested on the body from the right foot to the left shoulder, one hand being beneath it and the other resting on it. It is probable that the maniple and the gloves were of linen, as no trace of them remains.

The place occupied by this most interesting tomb is the south wall of the aisle of the Trinity Chapel, which chapel

¹ In our case, by inserting the *que* after *tumuli*, the first syllable of *ix* has very properly been made short. The German inscription runs thus:

Quicquid in altari punctatur spirituali,
Illud in altari completur materiali.
Ara crucis, tumuli calyx, lapidisque patena,
Sindonis officium candida byssus habet.

was built to receive the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and was finished in 1184. It is now ascertained from a list of Archbishops, to which fuller reference will shortly be made, that this is the tomb of Archbishop Hubert Walter, who died in 1205. It is his body that has been lately seen. These are his vestments, his ring, his chalice and paten, and his crozier, that have aroused so much interest, and teach us such valuable lessons in the history of art as to condone the rifling of his tomb. The Society of Antiquaries of London will engrave the whole collection in the *Vetusta Monumenta*. Another tomb in the Cathedral has hitherto gone by Hubert Walter's name, and it says much for the acumen and felicity of judgment of Canon Scott Robertson, that he should nine years ago have pointed out this tomb as Hubert Walter's. It then went by the name of Theobald's, who died in 1161. It will interest the reader to have the tradition respecting the tomb traced for him. The true solution had not occurred even to so careful and accurate an inquirer as Professor Willis. This is what he says :

Unfortunately, out of fifty Archbishops and distinguished personages before the Reformation, the locality of whose tombs or shrines have been recorded, only about eighteen monuments are left, many of which are in a greater or less state of dilapidation. With one exception, however, they are all securely appropriated to their respective owners, and thus dated, which greatly increases their value and use for the history of art. Their positions are so minutely described by Archbishop Parker at a period when all the inscriptions remained, that there can be no mistake in this respect.

Here we may say that a manuscript list of Archbishops, the original of which was taken from Canterbury by Archbishop Parker, and deposited by him in the Corpus Library at Cambridge, of which manuscript a copy in Henry Wharton's handwriting is accessible at Lambeth Palace, will no doubt for the future supersede Parker's own descriptions, for it is more ancient and trustworthy. In the case of Hubert Walter himself, Professor Willis, following Parker in his mistake, assigns for the place of Hubert Walter's tomb "the south wall of the choir aisle." The manuscript list that corrects this error for us tells us that Hubert Walter lies "near the shrine of St. Thomas," which is the position of the tomb under examination. That list was written by a monk of Canterbury between 1532 and 1538, and on the margin (not

copied by Wharton) of the original entry respecting Hubert Walter, Josselin, Archbishop Parker's secretary, has written, "otherwise, under the window on the south side." This window is in the choir aisle, and this note of Josselin's shows us that Parker meant the position under the window in the choir aisle, and thus adopted, if he did not originate, the mistake that Hubert Walter was buried there.

Professor Willis continues, with reference to the tomb lately opened, that "the exception just mentioned" by him, that is to say, the exception amongst all the tombs, which otherwise are "securely appropriated to their respective owners,"

is a tomb which now stands on the south side of the Trinity Chapel; its sides are decorated with an arcade of trefoil arches, resting on shafts which have round abacuses and bases, and the style seems a little later than the completion of the Trinity Chapel. No record of a monument on this spot is preserved, and if, as is probable, it has been moved from its original site, all clue to its history is gone. It may have been constructed after the completion of the church, to receive the bones of some of the Archbishops who had been removed. It is usually attributed to Archbishop Theobald, but without reason, and is too late in style. (Willis, p. 128.)

We now know that this tomb has not been removed from its original site, for its contents have rested undisturbed since first they were placed there in 1205. It was not erected to receive the bones of some of the Archbishops who were removed, and it is wonderful that Professor Willis, who assigns to them all their places in the church, should have thought it possible. And it is no longer true that no record of a monument in this spot is preserved, for the Corpus MS. indicates it unmistakably as Hubert Walter's. One important result therefore of the recent investigation is the correction of this passage in the invaluable book of Professor Willis on Canterbury Cathedral.

ARCHBISHOP THEOBALD, 1161.

The Professor states with great positiveness, and at the same time, no doubt, with perfect truth, that this tomb is not Archbishop Theobald's. Yet, if it were not for positive evidence assigning it to Archbishop Walter, it might have been possible to have made out something of a case for Theobald, once Abbot of Bec, the Archbishop who crowned Henry the Second, and who, dying in 1161, was succeeded by St. Thomas of

Canterbury. The story of his removal from his original resting-place, nineteen years after his burial, is sufficiently interesting to be told in full.

Gervase says that in the old Trinity Chapel Lanfranc lay on the south side, Theobald on the north. And when that Trinity Chapel, the work of St. Anselm and his Priors Ernulf and Conrad, had been destroyed by fire in 1174, the bodies of Lanfranc and Theobald who were buried in it, and of St. Odo and St. Wilfrid who were enshrined in it, rested there amongst the ruins for six years. Gervase himself was an eye-witness of what was done with them in 1180, and his account of the opening of the tomb of Theobald is startlingly like what was seen the other day. I go back a little, to make my extract from Gervase complete, and I avail myself of Professor Willis's translation, retaining, however, the right to alter a word when necessary.

The Chapel of the Holy Trinity above mentioned was then levelled to the ground; this had hitherto remained untouched out of reverence to St. Thomas, who was buried in the crypt. But the saints who reposed in the upper part of the chapel were translated elsewhere, and lest the memory of what was then done should be lost, I will record somewhat thereof. On the 8th of the Ides of July the altar of the Holy Trinity was broken up, and from its materials the altar of St. John the Apostle was made; I mention this lest the history of the holy stone should be lost upon which St. Thomas celebrated his first Mass and many times offered the Holy Sacrifice. The stone structure which was behind this altar was taken to pieces. Here, as before said, St. Odo and St. Wilfrid reposed for a long period. These saints were raised in their leaden coffins and carried into the choir. St. Odo in his coffin was placed under the shrine of St. Dunstan, and St. Wilfrid under the shrine of St. Elphege.

Archbishop Lanfranc was found enclosed in a very heavy sheet of lead, in which from the day of his first burial up to that day he had rested his limbs, untouched, mitred, pinned,¹ for sixty-nine years and some months. He was carried into the vestry and replaced in the lead, until the community should decide what should be done with so great a father. When they opened the tomb of Archbishop Theobald, which was built of marble slabs, and came to his coffin, the monks who were present, expecting to find his body reduced to dust, brought wine and water to wash his bones. But when the lid of the coffin was raised, he was found entire and rigid, the bones and nerves, the skin and flesh cohering, but attenuated. The bystanders marvelled at this sight, and

¹ *Spinulatus*, with the pins of his pallium.

touching him with their hands placed him on a bier, and so carried him to Lanfranc in the vestry, that the Convent might resolve what would be the most respectful manner of disposing of both. But the rumour spread among the people, and already for this unwonted incorruption many called him St. Theobald. He was shown to several who desired to see him, and by them the tale was spread among the rest. He was thus raised from his grave in the nineteenth year from his death, his body being incorrupt and his silk vestments entire. By the decision of the Convent he was buried in a leaden chest¹ before St. Mary's altar in the nave of the Church, and this was what he had desired when living. The marble tomb was put together over him as before. But Lanfranc having remained, as aforesaid, untouched for sixty-nine years, his very bones were consumed with rottenness, and nearly all reduced to dust. The length of time, the damp vestments, the natural frigidity of the lead, and, above all, the frailty of the human structure, had conspired to produce this corruption. But the larger bones, with the remaining dust, were collected in a leaden coffer, and deposited at the altar of St. Martin. (Willis, p. 57.)

To the testimony of Gervase may be added that of *Polistorie*, a MS. Chronicle in French of the first quarter of the fourteenth century. This writer's account seems to be an echo of that of Gervase, but he describes the place at the Lady Altar where Theobald was buried with some distinctness.

Lan de grace mclx. . . . En cel tems enmaladist le erseuesk de Caüterbire Thebaud primat de Engleterre & legat de la Curt de Rome : mes lan de grace mil clxi. de cele maladie languisaunt le an de sun erseuesche xxij. la xiiij. Kl. de May a Caunterbire morust, et ilukes en le eglise Ihu Cst fust enterre de coste lauter nostre dame p[ar] deuaunt honurablement. Le cors de ly apres le xix an de sa sepulture entier & red [raide] fust troue des os, nerfs, de pel & char, dunt poy [peu] hy avoyt, mes tuts entieres se mustrerent les iointures.²

The marginal note is "De corpore Theobaldi Archiepi. integro inuento post xix annos."

The question must now be discussed, whether the body of Theobald remained there at the altar of the Blessed Virgin in the nave, or whether there is any probability that it was transferred to the south aisle of the Trinity Chapel. I take the greatest difficulty against its transfer first.

In the fifteenth volume of the *Archæologia*, p. 291, there is a paper which was read before the Society of Antiquaries of

¹ Willis notes that in this case Gervase uses the word *arca*, while in all the other instances in this extract the word employed by him for a coffin is *capsa*.

² Harl. 636, fol. 118 b.

London on May 31 and June 7, 1804. The paper was drawn up by Mr. Henry Boys, from the rough notes left by his father, Sir John Boys, and it is accompanied by an excellent print of our tomb and of the leaden *plaque* that was buried with Archbishop Theobald. This interesting *plaque* of lead seems to have been sent to the Society of Antiquaries as a gift by Mr. Boys, for it would be "more usefully preserved in their collection than in the cabinet of any private person." Unfortunately it is not known to exist. The drawing of it, from which the engraving in the *Archæologia* has been taken, is now in one of the portfolios of the Society of Antiquaries, and evidently represents the *plaque* more accurately than the engraving. That it is our Archbishop Theobald's *plaque* there cannot be a doubt. Mr. Boys says :

On the 20th of February, 1787, the workmen began to take up the old pavement in the body of Canterbury Cathedral, and in levelling the ground for the new pavement at the east end of the north aisle, a leaden coffin was found a little below the surface, containing the remains of a body that had been wrapped in a robe of velvet or rich silk fringed with gold; these remains were much decayed. In the coffin was likewise enclosed an inscription on a plate of lead, in capital letters, engraved in double strokes with a sharp-pointed instrument. The lead is much broken and affected by the aerial acid, and the letters are particularly so, the calx filling all the strokes, and rising above the surface of the sounder metal; from whence it appears that the unwritten surface was covered with paint or varnish, through which the strokes were cut into the substance of the lead, and thereby left exposed to the air. The letters are exceedingly well formed for that period; some of the abbreviations are curiously complex. I read the inscription thus: [*Hic requiescit*] *venerabilis memo[r]iæ Teob[aldus] Cantuariæ archiepiscopus Britannie primas et Apostolicæ [Sedis legatus]. Ecclesiæ Christi Diep[er]ham adquisi[s]ivit proprio argento et pluribus or[navit] operibus. Se[p]ultus [v]iiii. Kl.[Maii anno Domini MCLXI].*

If, as Mr. Boys says, this inscription was found "in the coffin" in which were the remains of a body in silk vestments, the probability is very strong that that body was Archbishop Theobald's. It is, however, curious that we can get further back than the date of Mr. Boys' paper, and in doing so, instead of assertions as positive as his, we meet only with surmises, with a great diversity in the statement of facts. Hasted's book on Canterbury is dated December, 1800, and this is his account of the finding of the body in the old Lady Chapel.

On the removal of the earth for making the new pavement of the nave, the stone coffin under this monument [that of Sir John Boys, who died in 1612] was found with the outward side of it already broken to pieces; in it were three skulls, lying close together at one end, and a number of bones in a heap promiscuously in the middle of it. Under the window, eastward from this monument, there was found lying on the foundation, which about three feet under the surface projected like a shelf, a skeleton, the body of which had been to all appearance richly habited; some of the materials of the cloathing remained in small pieces or tatters, seemingly a stuff of gold tissue, and a piece of a leaden plate, on which could be read ARCHIEP and the word PRIMAS, seemingly very antient; the remaining part of the lead had crumbled away. These, perhaps, were the remains of Archbishop Theobald, who was buried somewhere hereabouts in the year 1184 [1180].¹

It is remarkable that Hasted should have seen one part of the *plaque*, but not the other fragment which contains Theobald's name. To our purpose it is important to observe that he makes no mention of any coffin whatever, within which the *plaque* might be found. On the contrary, he expressly says that the skeleton was "found lying on the foundation" of the aisle wall, "which about three feet under the surface projected like a shelf." Hasted tells us that "on searching the graves and moving the remains of those anciently buried in this nave, for new making of the ground to lay the present new pavement on, it was then found that this was not the first time these depositories of the dead had been disturbed, for every coffin had been opened and ransacked."² Of the particular place with which we are now concerned, this receives sad proof from the statement he has just made to us of the stone coffin that had been so violently used that its side was broken to pieces, in which three skulls were at one end, and a heap of bones in the middle. It seems clear that no leaden coffin was found in 1787. That the *plaque* there found is Theobald's is indubitable; that it should have been found near the place where Theobald's body unquestionably lay for awhile is most natural; that the *plaque* should be bought from the workmen by Sir John Boys might well be expected, as this was the spot where his kinsman Sir John Boys was buried; but that the *plaque* was found in a bishop's coffin has not been established, much less that that coffin was undisturbed. In making Dr. Anian's grave in

¹ *History of Canterbury*, vol. i. p. 391, note R.

² *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 384.

January, 1632, close to the tomb of Sir John Boys, the *plaque* of Archbishop Richard, who succeeded St. Thomas, was found, as Somner tells us,¹ together with his cope, crozier, and chalice. This Somner says was "on the north side of the body [*i.e.* the nave], towards the upper end," and, therefore, very close to the place spoken of by Hasted where the skeleton was found on the foundation of the aisle wall. Theobald had a marble tomb re-erected over him at the Lady Altar, as we learn from Gervase; he was buried "a coste lauter nostre Dame par devaunt," according to *Polistorie*, and it would seem probable that Theobald's marble tomb will have been on the south, if Richard in 1183 was buried on the north side. Theobald's *plaque* would be thrown about and displaced as the earth was several times disturbed. And we may assume that Theobald rested there till the spoliators came and ruthlessly mingled the bones of the ancient rulers of the Cathedral and removed them, we know not whither. Not that a transfer would have been impossible even if unrecorded. We know that SS. Odo and Wilfrid were placed in their leaden coffins beneath the shrines of SS. Dunstan and Elphege on either side of the high altar. Willis tells us that this was "as a temporary resting-place only," and his reason for so saying is that in a later list of relics he finds that they were in the Corona in the fourteenth century. Yet Gervase leaves them at the high altar, and if no such subsequent list had been forthcoming, the historians of the church² would have all declared that there they still were, just as they insist that Theobald, or what is left of him, is, if not carried out of the church by the spoilers, still in the old chapel of the Blessed Virgin in the nave aisle.

We are not saying that it is not so, for documentary evidence shows that as a matter of fact Theobald was not transferred, and the tradition is erroneous which says that our tomb is his burial-place. When *Polistorie* was written in 1313, we should not have been told that he was buried by the Lady altar, if by that time he had been removed; and the excellent list of 1532 would not have said that "he is buried in the nave of the church." In 1313, the Lady altar was in the nave aisle;

¹ Willis, p. 37, note J.; Somner, p. 92. Dart (p. 129) wrongly says it was Dr. Aucher's, who died in 1700.

² Dart (p. 109.), forgetting Prior Eastry's list which he prints in his Appendix, says that St. Odo's bones still continue under the feretory of St. Dunstan, without any monument.

it disappeared when Archbishop Sudbury pulled down Lanfranc's ruinous nave in 1378; and when the list of 1532 was written, Prior Goldston had long since finished the new Lady Chapel on the east side of the Martyrdom. The two writers, then, by their different phrases are indicating the same place in the church.

But though Theobald remained there till the barbarians of the eighteenth century destroyed all trace of his tomb, his body no doubt having lost after its reburial in lead the wonderful state of preservation that so surprised the beholders in Gervase's time, yet the tradition, that the tomb lately opened was really his, has lasted a long time, withstanding the earnest assaults of historians like Somner and Battely. The very books that deny the truth of the tradition, in some sort testify to it by printing the words "Archbishop Theobald's tomb" on their plates of the tomb in the Trinity Chapel aisle, and in their plans of the Cathedral. Sir John Boys associates the name of Theobald so closely with the tomb, though he writes to prove that his body has been found elsewhere, that he invents the absurd hypothesis of "a superb monument erected to the memory of Theobald at a period distant from his death, and in a situation distant from his remains." It is still more curious that a "table" representing Theobald and his acts at one time hung over the tomb. If it was, as Battely says, "lately made," it was one of a series of placards engrossed on parchment, which are dated 1665. This was the time when the Cathedral was reopened after the ill-treatment it underwent in Cromwell's time, and the table gives us the tradition existing at the Restoration.

"TABLES."

The mention of this "table," or, as we should call it, "tablet," of Theobald and his acts may justify a few words respecting the other "tables" that we know to have existed on the tombs in the church. It would appear that almost all the "tables" had been misplaced. Weever asserts that he found that Lanfranc was buried in the church "by a table inscribed, which hangs upon his tomb." "Erroneously," is Somner's comment, "for there is neither tomb nor table of his there." Theobald's we have seen was displaced, for it was on the tomb we now know to be Hubert Walter's. There was a "table" for Odo, and it had found its way to Archbishop Sudbury's tomb. "There indeed," says Somner, "shall you find a table hanging, epitomizing the story of his [Odo's] life and acts—not without a

great mistake." Archbishop Mepham's "tomb is that whereon by error Archbishop Sudbury's table hangs." And when he comes to Sudbury, Somner repeats: "His tomb is that (as in



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ancient Archbishop, who certainly rested for a time in the Corona, not far from our tomb, and who very probably was placed later on beside, or near to, the tomb we now call Hubert Walter's. The Archbishop in question is the Saxon St. Odo,

¹ Somner, *Antiquities of Canterbury*, London, 1640, pp. 236, 241, 262—265.

it disappeared when Archbishop Sudbury pulled down Lanfranc's ruinous nave in 1378; and when the list of 1532 was written, Prior Goldston had long since finished the new Lady Chapel on the east side. . . . different place.

But the . . . the eighteenth century . . . no doubt . . . state of preservation . . . time, yet the . . . his, has misled . . . historians . . . the truth of . . . the words " . . . tomb in the . . . Cathedral. . . . closely with . . . has been found . . . of "a superfluous . . . a period distant . . . his remains . . . Theobald as . . . was, as Baines . . . placards . . . was the true . . . treatment . . . us the tradition.

J. G. CHARLTON,
PHOTOGRAPHIC ARTIST.
64, ST. GEORGE'S STREET,
CANTERBURY.

Hubert Walter

The mistake . . . of Theobald . . . other "table" . . . the church . . . been misplaced . . . was buried . . . upon his tomb . . . there is no



have seen was displaced, for it was on the tomb we now know to be Hubert Walter's. There was a "table" for Odo, and it had found its way to Archbishop Sudbury's tomb. "There indeed," says Somner, "shall you find a table hanging, epitomizing the story of his [Odo's] life and acts—not without a

great mistake." Archbishop Mepham's "tomb is that whereon by error Archbishop Sudbury's table hangs." And when he comes to Sudbury, Somner repeats: "His tomb is that (as in Odo I told you) whereon Odo's table hangs." Two "tables," at all events, were in their proper places, for he says of Stratford: "By the table hanging whereon you may easily find it," and of Wittlesey, that he lies "between two pillars on the south side of the body of the Church, under a fair tomb inlaid with brass, as his table will direct."¹ Godwin, in his Latin edition (1616), complains that the "tables" that he saw at the tomb of Walter Reynolds, and at that which he thought was Hubert Walter's, had been taken away by some one, he knew not whom. Of these Somner makes no mention. The custom of putting "tables" on tombs for the instruction of strangers was an ancient one. There is an example of one in the year 1406 at St. Augustine's tomb in his Abbey at Canterbury, which gave offence to the Christ Church monks by stating the priority of foundation of that Abbey.

The "table" for Wittlesey's tomb is still to be seen in the Cathedral library, written in 1665 by a man of the name of R. Hoare. Those of Bradwardin, Islip, and Arundell, done at the same time, are also preserved. There remains one of an earlier series, that of Islip, word for word the same as the later one, but much more worn and in an earlier handwriting. The matter in these "tables" is taken from Parker, and they are written in Latin. These post-Reformation "tables" are evidently those that Godwin and Somner allude to.

ARCHBISHOP ST. ODO, 958.

The interesting character of these "tables" may perhaps justify this digression; but now to return to the local tradition respecting Theobald's claim to Hubert Walter's tomb, we may proceed to give another piece of evidence more striking than any that have gone before. Its production will justify us in turning our attention from Theobald, whose claim upon our tomb must be abandoned, and will cause us to devote ourselves for awhile to the examination of the case of a still more ancient Archbishop, who certainly rested for a time in the Corona, not far from our tomb, and who very probably was placed later on beside, or near to, the tomb we now call Hubert Walter's. The Archbishop in question is the Saxon St. Odo,

¹ Somner, *Antiquities of Canterbury*, London, 1640, pp. 236, 241, 262—265.

the immediate predecessor of St. Dunstan, whose habit it was to call him "Odo the Good." From Eadmer we learn that Odo, the twenty-second Archbishop of Canterbury, brought the relics of St. Wilfrid from Ripon in the year 957, and placed them in the altar, "of rough stones and mortar" against the wall of the eastern apse of the Saxon Cathedral. St. Odo's own tomb was on the south side of the high altar of that Cathedral, and it is not without importance to notice that it was described as "in the form of a pyramis."

This church was found by Lanfranc in ruins, and he rebuilt the nave, and St. Anselm, or rather his Priors Ernulf and Conrad, the choir. From Gervase we learn that, behind St. Anselm's choir, in the Chapel of the Blessed Trinity where St. Thomas used to say Mass, beside the altar and quite against the east wall, on the right, that is the south side, was St. Odo, on the left, or north side, was St. Wilfrid of York; to the south, close to the wall, the venerable Archbishop Lanfranc, and to the north Theobald.¹ For "when the high altar of the old church was taken down, the relics of the Blessed Wilfrid were found and placed in a coffer, and after some years a sepulchre was prepared for them on the north side of an altar, in which they were reverently inclosed on [St. Wilfrid's day] the 12th of October." And a story is told by Gervase of a bright light seen in the church while angels performed the service, who went to the shrine of St. Wilfrid for a blessing before the lections.²

When the choir had been burnt in 1174, the same contemporary authority tells us that on July 8, 1180, when William the Englishman was planning the new Trinity Chapel, St. Odo and St. Wilfrid were raised in their leaden coffins and carried into the choir. St. Odo, in his coffin, was placed under the shrine of St. Dunstan, which was on the south side of the new high altar, and St. Wilfrid under the shrine of St. Elphege, on the north side of the high altar. There Gervase leaves them, but we know from a list of relics made in the time of Prior Eastry,³ in 1321, that St. Odo was then in a shrine in the Corona on the south side, and St. Wilfrid in a shrine also in the Corona on the north side. *Corpus S. Odonis in feretro ad Coronam versus austrum. Corpus S. Wilfridi in feretro ad Coronam versus aquilonem.*⁴

¹ Willis, p. 46.

² *Ibid.* p. 16.

³ *Ibid.* p. 56, note Q; p. 113, note E.

⁴ Galba, E. iv. f. 122; Dart, Append. xiii.

We now come to a new witness, Richard Scarlett,⁵ a lover of heraldry, who visited the Cathedral in 1599. In his first visit to the east end of the church, besides the quarterings on the tombs of Cardinal Pole and Dean Wootton, two things struck him: the one "a old monument of marble wherein was buried Theobaldus, Archbishop of Canterburye, dyed a boute 900 yeares a goo:" the other, "Odo, Archbishop and died An^o 958, and lyeth in a fayre monument of marble." This last entry was originally "700 yeare a goo," which put St. Odo two centuries after Theobald, whose antiquity the writer of the note has just doubled. The information our visitor got from the "tables" on the spot was not entirely accurate, and he had not knowledge enough of his own to rectify it. However, the year 958, which he has subsequently entered as the year of St. Odo's death, is near enough, but Theobald's date he has not corrected, in this note at least.

On his next visit he has taken the tombs of all the Archbishops he could find, and he has arranged them in chronological order. Islip's and Warham's dates he has not noted, and he enters them out of order. He has made some other curious mistakes. He begins with Lanfranc, whom he places "at the feet of St. Anselm." This is a reminiscence of the fact that St. Anselm was originally buried at the head of Lanfranc in his own Trinity Chapel, but he was thence translated to the Chapel of SS. Peter and Paul, which thereupon took his name: and Lanfranc, so far from being at the feet of St. Anselm, was removed in 1180 to the altar of St. Martin, on the north side of the church.

Our visitor makes next the curious error of the substitution of an *e* for the last stroke of the *m* in St. Anselm's name, for which we can only account by believing him to have misread the "table" that gave an account of St. Anselm. He calls him "St. Anselyne," and he does not know for certain which was his chapel, saying, "I take it to bee on the south syde of the high altar," in which he guesses rightly.

Another blunder shows that he knows nothing of architecture, for of Archbishop Arundell he tells us that "he built Arundell Steple, and gave the Bells, and dyed in January, 1413." It does not seem strange to him that a man who died in 1413 should have built Lanfranc's Norman north-west tower. It is to be said for him that Parker and Godwin make

⁵ Harl. 1366, fol. 12.

the same mistake. Our herald of 1599 was of the same opinion as Gostling and Hasted, who ought to have known better, and assigned what he calls Theobald's tomb to Saxon times. For he was struck by its antiquity, which he thought might be 900 years, and of Odo's, which he apparently attributes to Odo's own time, in the middle of the tenth century.

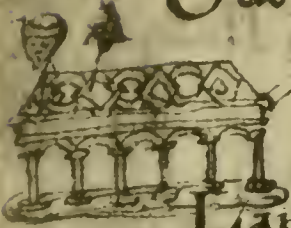
But we were engaged with his second visit to the church, and in his notes of it his first entry is, "Odo lyeth on the south syde of the high altar, in a tombe built with marble stone after the forme of a piramis.¹ He dyed An^o 958. Against bischopp Courteney's tombe." And to this he attaches a pen and ink sketch of St. Odo's tomb or shrine, which is so interesting that a photograph has been taken of it in its actual size, as well as enlarged. How exactly it corresponds with Hubert Walter's tomb is thus seen at a glance.

Of Theobald, his entry on this second occasion is that he "lyeth in the upp^r parte of the church (neere the black prince) in a marble tomb. hee dyed An^o 1160." He is this time nearer to the correct date, but it should be April 18, 1161. This error of a year is made by Parker likewise.

This pen and ink sketch so precisely corresponds with our tomb, that not only the geometrical panelling is identical, but the two heads given match exactly with the heads on Theobald's—the first in a cap, the second in a mitre. The quatrefoils could not be drawn because of the small dimensions of his sketch, which is but an inch by three-quarters of an inch, for which reason, also, we have no trefoils in the arcading. Apparently we must take the intimation that this is Odo's tomb, as one more error on Scarlett's part. He must have written out his notes in chronological order after he left the church, and when he came to reproduce his little sketch

¹ Godwin, in his first edition of the *Catalogue of the Bishops of England*, by F. G., Sub-Deane of Exeter, London, 1601, p. 20, just after Scarlett's visit, has the same phrase. "He was buried on the south side of the high altar, in a tombe built somewhat after the forme of a Pyramis." He goes on wrongly to say, "I take it to be the tombe of iate standing in the grate neer the steps that lead to S. Thomas Chappell." This is Mepham's tomb, which in the edition of 1615, p. 62, he calls a "tomb of touchstone" and in the Latin, *ex Lydio lapide*. Godwin does not say it is in "the form of a pyramis" because it is like Mepham, but he goes to Mepham because he thinks it answers the description. St. Odo's first tomb in the Saxon church is so described. *Requievit columba supra memoriam beati Odonis, quæ ad australem partem altaris in modum pyramidis exstructa fuit*. (Osbern's Life of St. Dunstan, *Anglia Sacra*, 1691, vol. ii. p. 110.) Somner blames Godwin for not remembering that this is not the same church, but it is not clear that Godwin made this mistake,

First Archbyschoppe lye buried in the Church of
 Canterbury
 in the place hereafter mentioned



Odo: lyeth on the South syde of the high Altar in a
 tombe built wth marble stone after the forme of
 a pyramis. he dyed An^o. 958 / against bischopp
 Eustaceys tombe.

Lanfrank. lye at the fete of St Anselme, he
 dyed the xxijth of maye. An^o. 1084.

St Anselme lyeth in a Chappell dedicated unto
 him (I take it to bee on the South syde of the
 high Altar) he dyed the viijth of Aprill. An^o. 1109

Rodulphus lyeth buried in the myddle of the Boddye
 of the Church and dyed the xijth of October / 1122

Theobald, lyeth buried in the upp^r parte of the Church
 (neere the black priore) in a marble Tombe. he
 dyed An^o. 1160.

Ricardus. lyeth buried in the Chappell of Dore Ladie
 he dyed the xvjth of february, An^o. 1183.

his garment Hubart Walter buried in Julie the 13. An^o. 1205. in a tombe of
 all red por- stone with a self lying figure. very faire
 dored with lions passant
 gold. Walter Reynold. died An^o. 1327. } hee too lye in the
 } South wall with
 } out the Quene

his requiescit dñs walterus (Reynolds) prim^{us} & p^{ri}nc^{ip}alis wigorniensis et
 Anglie Cancellari^{us} deinde Archiep^{us} istius Elie qui obiit 16
 die mensis Novembris. An^o Francie / 1327 // his outward gar-
 ment powdered wth gylfyns passant gold.



of the shrine-like tomb, which certainly he has excellently done, he must have forgotten to which of the two, Odo or Theobald, it belonged. The word "piramis" will have been also applicable no doubt to the smaller shrine that contained St. Odo, or it even may have been another reminiscence of what he had read about the Saxon Cathedral, and where the word occurs in his notes, he was led to put the sketch of the larger "piramis" that he had seen at the same time. It is extremely improbable that he saw two tombs exactly alike in the same place, one "against bischopp Courteney's tombe," the other "neere the Black Prince." If there were two alike, they would have been stone shrines of St. Odo and St. Wilfrid from the Corona; but as we have the sketch, and see the tomb corresponding with that sketch, and as we know from Mr. St. John Hope's careful measurements and examination that there is not room in the Corona for our tomb, we may be sure that it is not the shrine of St. Odo or St. Wilfrid, and further that it was certainly made for its present position.

But though Richard Scarlett has given the sketch to Odo that he ought to have given to what he called Theobald, still it seems plain from his description that St. Odo was there at that time in the Trinity Chapel aisle. He saw two tombs, and not one, and he believed that both Archbishops' bodies were there. "Odo lyeth on the south syde of the high alter," "Theobald lyeth buried neere the black prince." "Against bischopp Courteney's tombe," means "opposite to" it, and the "pyramis" we see, Walter's we call it, Theobald's was his name for it, is exactly opposite to Archbishop Courtenay's alabaster monument. The other shrine he saw, St. Odo's, must have been smaller than Walter's tomb, for it came from the Corona; and the singular return of the step still remaining on the south side of the altar in the Corona, where St. Odo once was, seems to indicate a change there, while St. Wilfrid on the north side remained until he was unshrined by Henry the Eighth.

This supposes St. Odo to have been in the Trinity aisle, and indeed either the words "against bischopp Courteney's tombe," or more probably the other description, "neere the Black Prince," belong to his "piramis," or smaller shrine. Now we have a support for this surmise respecting St. Odo in the list of Archbishops in the Corpus Library. The monk of Canterbury, who wrote while St. Thomas was still in his shrine, says that St. Odo "now lies at the Corona of St. Thomas in the Chapel of the Holy

Trinity on the right.”¹ In the original, as Mr. Lewis, the Librarian of Corpus, is good enough to say, there is no sign of correction, but the words run on in one and the same handwriting. Still the Corona is never styled “in the Trinity Chapel,” and in this entry we seem to find, first a statement that St. Odo was in the Corona, which indeed we know from Prior Henry of Eastry, and then a change, when perhaps the original was inadvertently left, stating that St. Odo was in the Trinity Chapel on the right hand side—the very position that the visitor of 1599 would induce us to assign to his shrine.

And to this second witness that Odo was really in the aisle of the Trinity Chapel we may add, as a third witness, the “table” spoken of by Somner, which evidently once was placed on Odo’s shrine. We are thus brought to conclude that long after the time of Henry the Eighth, some one, taking a leaf out of King Henry’s book, turned St. Odo and his shrine out of the church. He had been saved from this indignity when the other saints were unshrined by his unrecorded transfer from his old place by the Corona altar, but it was to meet the same fate later on, at some one else’s hand. All that we have left to us is a small platform, west of Hubert Walter, and “near the Black Prince,” the step in front of which is worn, as if by pilgrims’ knees. Is not this the last site of St. Odo’s shrine?²

SAXON ARCHBISHOPS.

We may turn to the Corpus manuscript for some information respecting other Archbishops’ tombs, but we must necessarily be brief. In all, from St. Augustine to Warham inclusively, our monk gives us sixty-seven names. Of the thirty-two Saxon Archbishops (he omits Damian, Elsine, and Brithelm, given by Dugdale), eleven were buried in St. Augustine’s Abbey, twelve appear in his list as they are in Gervase, six he tells us have been moved, and of Ethelnoth and the two who precede Lanfranc he is silent. As these transfers are not mentioned by Parker, and are unknown to Willis, it is well to say that Ffeogild and Ceolnoth were enshrined on a beam at the entrance of the

¹ “S. Odo . . . modo jacet ad Coronam Sti. Thomæ in capella Stæ. Trinitatis ad dextram.”

² For this suggestion, which is quite new, and seems to me very interesting, I am indebted to Mr. St. John Hope, the Assistant Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries.

Corona ; Adhelm and Wlfhelm also on a beam, the one before St. Gregory's altar, the other before St. John's. These three last, together with Ethelnoth, about whom we are without subsequent information, were before at St. Benedict's altar in Lanfranc's church, and were disturbed by the rebuilding of the Martyrdom, or by the building of the new Lady Chapel in the fifteenth century. Ffeogild was in Gervase's time at St. Michael's altar. He was thence moved to the high altar, for John Stone, a Canterbury monk in 1467, records in his *Memoranda* that "in 1448, on the 24th of March, four Brothers of this church took from the high altar the shrine with the bones of St. Ffeogild, Archbishop of Canterbury, and carried it behind the Body of our Lord to the shrine of St. Thomas, thence to the Corona of St. Thomas, and placed the shrine on a beam between the shrine of St. Thomas and the Corona of St. Thomas." Besides this, Siricius was removed from the crypt to St. John's¹ altar, and St. Odo first to the Corona, and then, as we have seen, in all probability to the Trinity Chapel on the south side.

ARCHBISHOPS AFTER THE CONQUEST.

There are thirty-five Archbishops from Lanfranc to Warham inclusively. The writer of our list omits Reginald Joceline, but inserts Thomas Langton, so that his total is the same as Dugdale's, who reverses this. Of these, in accordance with Gervase, he places Lanfranc at St. Martin's altar, St. Anselm in his chapel, Theobald and Richard in the nave, meaning in the old Lady Chapel, which had disappeared in his time. He agrees with Henry of Eastrý in placing St. Thomas in the Trinity Chapel, St. Anselm in his own, St. Elphege and St. Dunstan at the high altar, St. Odo in the Corona, and St. Elfric at St. John's. This last was buried at this altar in Gervase's time, and enshrined there in Eastrý's. Of Ralph de Turbine and William Corboil our monk gives no indication : Gervase places them to the left and right of the entrance of St. Benedict's Chapel. John Ufford, who died before consecration, our list places in the Martyrdom. William Wittlesey was "in the nave before the image of Blessed Mary : " Thomas Arundell "in the nave in the chapel founded by him."

¹ It is remarkable that the monk of 1532 always speaks of this altar as that of St. John Baptist and St. John the Evangelist.

CARDINAL STEPHEN LANGTON, 1228.

Cardinal Stephen Langton, the writer of our list places "in St. Michael's Chapel *under* the altar." He is the first who makes mention of him in this place, unless Leland is before him. Parker and Godwin corroborate the statement; and Scarlett in 1599 asserts very distinctly that Langton "lyeth in the Chappell of St. Michaell on the south syde of the church neere the southe dore, w^{ch} shulde seeme to bee the Chappell Redyfied by John Earle of Somersett, for ther standyth yett the said monument whear the alter stood, halfe in the wall and halfe owte." The Chapel of St. Michael was rebuilt in 1439. Langton was buried in 1228, when St. Michael's Chapel, like St. Benedict's on the other side of the church, was but a little apse like those we now see in the eastern transepts. Cardinal Langton, we learn from *Polistorie*, which was written in 1313, "kaunt honurablement en cele eglise fust mys en tere deuaunt lauter seint Michel." We must look on the transfer of Langton from before to beneath the altar of St. Michael's Chapel to have taken place at the rebuilding in 1439. This testimony of *Polistorie*, that Lanfranc was buried *before* the altar of St. Michael, relieves us from a considerable difficulty. For Willis has said :

The stone coffin attributed to Stephen Langton, which is now built into the wall of the Chapel of St. Michael, seems to have been originally outside the wall in the churchyard; and thus the new wall, when the chapel was rebuilt and enlarged in the fourteenth century, was made to stride over the coffin by means of an arch. (p. 129.)

If this coffin were once outside in the churchyard, it was either not Stephen Langton's at all, or that great Cardinal Archbishop, alone of the Archbishops of Canterbury, was buried outside the church, and not only that, but his burial-place was not even in the cemetery of the monks, but in that of the laity. This some have attempted to account for by saying that he was excommunicated when he died, which is not true; and if it were true, he would not have been buried in consecrated ground as this was. Nor can it be said that though not excommunicated, he was suspended from his archiepiscopal functions and was buried as a simple priest, for as a matter of fact, the cemetery to the east of St. Michael's Chapel was not that where a simple priest would have been buried, as it was the

cemetery of laymen. The statement of *Polistorie* is valuable as showing us that Cardinal Langton was, like the other Archbishops, buried within the church before an altar, so that there is no need to devise reasons why he should have been buried in the churchyard at all. A far more difficult thing to assign a reason for is, that he should have been finally buried under an altar. The stone of the altar rested on his coffin, and by this arrangement the cross on the coffin lid, which is now visible, was then hidden. The front of the coffin shows that when it was before the altar the coffin was in the ground, the lid alone showing on the surface of the ground.

ARCHBISHOP PECKHAM, 1292.

There is a very curious note in Scarlett's manuscript, which has its value as showing various local traditions that have arisen without any foundation. As we have had to reject one very strong local tradition, which attached the name of Hubert Walter to a later tomb, and another not less strong, which called by Theobald's name Hubert Walter's tomb, it may be instructive to see that there was once a tradition in Canterbury Cathedral that Stigand, the deposed Archbishop, who made way for Lanfranc, was buried there, and again that Peckham's tomb was taken to be Ufford's :

In the Chapell of St. Thomas Beckett, a pon the monument of John Ufford, is layed a verye old monument of a bishopp, wth his myter on his head, curiouslye cutt in hard oke and remayneth sound and good : but from whens he was brought thyther I knowe not. He lyeth loose a pon the top of the marble ston, and is by prescription said to be the picture of Stygauns the *Arch*¹bishop lyving at the comyg of W^m the Conqueror. And is lykely to be soo, because I have seen the lyke cutt in oke of some noblemen that lyved at the Conquest tyme, as for example one Lord Lovetoft, Lord of Worsop, who standeth in a church there to be seene yett, and lyeth crosslegged in a wonderful old arque, leaning on his swoord and a great target on his armes, whereon was the Lovetofts armes : all cutt out of oke and was so hard that I could scarselye enter a dagger poynt in to yt.

RICH. SCARLETT.

The writer has scored out all the preceding notes, and he has added this correction : "Stygan doth not lie in the sayde church, as it is reportyd." (fol. 18.)

¹ Erased.

The previous entry Scarlett had made respecting this tomb runs thus: "John Ufford, brother to the Earle of Suffolke, dyed of the plague the vijth of June An^o 1348 and is buried in St. Thomas Chappell whereat hee hath a statlie tombe cutt in *wood*¹ ston and all piraments gilt a pon him a marble ston whearon is no armes nor wrytinge." (fol. 13.)

St. Thomas's Chapel,² the term also used by Scarlett for the place of burial of Archbishops Stafford, Deane, and Warham, is the Martyrdom; and the monk of 1532 contents himself with assigning the Martyrdom as Ufford's burial-place. Parker's phrase in the early unpublished edition of 1572 is translated by Godwin thus: "His body without any pompe or wonted solemnity was carried to Canterbury, and there secretly buried by the north wall, beside the wall of Thomas Becket." To this Godwin added in his first black letter editions of his "Catalogue of Bishops," published in 1601 and 1615, "at that place (if I mistake not) where we see an olde woodden tombe neere to the tombe of Bishop Warham."

Hasted's conjecture respecting the wooden effigy is curious. "It seems singular," he says, "that the figure should have been left so entirely plain when all the rest of the tomb is profusely decorated with painting and gilding. It has been conjectured by some that this was a conventional figure used to place on the tomb immediately after the interment of an Archbishop, until such time as his monument was ready."

Hasted says that Ufford "does not seem to have had any monument erected for him, though that remaining there now beside Warham's tomb, and allowed by most to be that of Archbishop Peckham, has been by some conjectured to have been erected for Archbishop Ufford, whose gravestone is still to be seen in the pavement in the Martyrdom, though it has been for a long time robbed of its brasses."

In assigning Peckham's tomb to Ufford, the tradition of the Cathedral in the sixteenth century has again gone wrong, Scarlett and Godwin have been misled by it at the same time. In Scarlett's list of tombs there is no mention of Archbishop Peckham.

Godwin has nothing more to say of Peckham than that "he was buried in his owne church, but in what particular place I finde not." A manuscript note in the British Museum copy

² This is interesting, as Willis says (p. 62) that the Trinity chapel "is always called the Chapel of St. Thomas."

of Godwin's second edition shows how Somner set this matter right :

Archbishop Parker, as well as Bishop Godwin, found not the particular place where Archbishop Peckham was buried. But by a record (sayth Mr. Somner, in his *Antiq. of Cant.* p. 286) in the church of the time of his death and place of the buriall of this Archbishop, it appears he was laid *in parte aquilonari, juxta locum Martyrii beati Thomæ Martyris*.¹ Mr. Somner fears the author of the tables hath done him some wrong in hanging Archbishop Ufford's table upon that w^{ch} (as he takes it) was rather Peckham's tombe than his, that namely in the corner of the Martyrdom next unto Warham, w^{ch} the table writer upon Bishop Godwin's conjecture takes for granted to be Ufford's tombe. But (as Mr. Somner conceives) the cost bestowed on that monument (however the archiepiscopall effigies w^{ch} it hath is framed of wood) being built somewhat pyramis-like, and richly overlayd with gold, w^{ch} is not yet worne off, gainsays it to be Ufford's. For 'tis said that he dying before he was fully Archbishop, having never received either his pall or his consecration, and that in the time of the great plague, w^{ch} (as Walsingham reports) consumed 9 parts of the men throughout England, his body without any pomp or wonted solemnity was carried to Canterbury, and there secretly buried by the north wall, beside the wall of Thomas Becket.

The monk of 1532 gives this little contribution to the overthrow of the sixteenth century tradition, inasmuch as, according to him, both Peckham and Ufford were buried at the Martyrdom, but of Peckham alone he says that his place of burial is "in the wall."

ARCHBISHOP ROBERT WINCHELSEY, 1313.

There is nothing new to be said about Robert Winchelsey's tomb, but there is a full account of his funeral in the French chronicle of Canterbury, called *Polistorie*, which has probably never appeared in an English dress. It was written in 1313, the very year of his death, and the chronicle ends with the election first of Master Thomas de Cobham, and next of "Syre Water Renaud," that is to say, Walter Reynolds, Bishop of Worcester and his enthronement by Prior Henry of Eastry, in the presence of eight of the Bishops of the province. The funeral of Robert Winchelsey is therefore described while its memory was still fresh, and this may account for the detail with which it is told :

¹ Willis gives the reference, *Regist. Ecc. Cant. Ang. Sac.* i. 117.

In the year of grace 1313, the 11th of May, on a Friday, at Otford died Robert de Wynchelesee, Archbishop of Canterbury, when he had held the see 18 years, 34 weeks, and 6 days. His body was carried to Canterbury, and on the 21st of May, on the way to his mother church, it rested in the church of the Hospital of St. James without the city. The Convent of Jesus Christ our Saviour came thither in procession. Thirteen monks only vested in albs in that church, the rest made the lines, and carried the body to the gate of the cemetery of their mother church, the convent going before in frocks according to their usage. At the gate abovesaid the procession of the convent was met by the Bishops of Winchester, of Bath, Ely, and Llandaff, and the prayer was said by the Bishop of Llandaff, John de Monemue,¹ who was the first Bishop of them all. The thirteen monks vested as aforesaid took copes which the sacristan brought them, and they carried the body honourably across the choir up to the Prior's chapel.

On Tuesday at the hour of noon, when the convent was sleeping at mid-day, the body was carried before terce from the chapel to the choir by six monks, Prior Henry being present, and was honourably placed on the pavement before the high altar. That same day without loss of time after Vespers all the convent was vested in albs and the Bishops were vested to sing the dirge: the first lesson of which, with the chanter's garnish, was read by the Prior of Leedes, the second by the Abbot of Langdon, the third by the Abbot of St. Radegund, the fourth by the Abbot of Liesnes, the fifth by the Abbot of Battle, the sixth by the Abbot of Feversham,² the seventh by the Bishop of Ely, the eighth by the Bishop of Winchester, and the ninth by the Bishop of Llandaff. All the responses the monks chanted two and two, except the third which was sung by four, the sixth which was sung by five, and the ninth which the precentor sung with five monks. And all six monks, vested in copes, then chanted three verses, to wit, *Timor magnus, Dies illa*, and *Nunc Christe*.

The day after, the Wednesday, John de Monumue, Bishop of Llandaff, solemnly celebrated Mass for the dead, and after the Gospel made a sermon to the people, and his theme was, *Num ignoratis quod princeps magnus hodie cecidit in Israel, Abner nomine?* "Know you not that this day a great prince hath fallen in Israel, Abner by name?" When the Mass was said, these same Bishops performed the exequies with due devotion, and the body was buried in the same church on the south side before the altar of St. Gregory the Pope.³

¹ John of Monmouth was named Bishop of Llandaff in March 1295, and consecrated in February 1296. The other three Bishops, Winchester, Bath and Wells, and Ely, are mentioned in the order of their seniority. It is noteworthy that no precedence was given to Winchester.

² Two were houses of Black Canons, Leedes Priory and Lesnes Abbey or Westwood in Erith, and two of White Canons or Premonstratensians, West Langdon Abbey and St. Radegund or Bradsole near Dover. The other two were Benedictine Abbeys. All these monasteries were in Kent, except Battle Abbey.

³ Harl. MS. 636, fol. 233 b.

The monk of 1532 has nothing further to say of Winchelsea's burial-place than this, except that it was "in the wall." Godwin says, "His tombe, which was situate beside the altar of St. Gregory neare the south wal, was afterwards pulled down." Parker adds the reason, that the people held him after death as a saint and came in numbers to worship him. Leland was at Canterbury before its destruction and says that he was buried "in a right godly tumber of marble, at the very but ende yn the waulle side." When Scarlett came in 1599 it was all gone, and he makes no mention of it whatever. It seems remarkable that Henry's commissioners should have destroyed Winchelsea's monument, for the offerings at it had long ceased,¹ but the veneration of the people, we must suppose, still in some sort continued.

CARDINAL MORTON, 1500.

Scarlett's entry respecting this Cardinal Archbishop is: "John Moorton built for himselfe a chappell and a verye fayer tombe in the undercrofte, and died An^o 1500. Of freeston, him selfe lyeing thereon, garnished with the fawcon standing a pon a ton, the Cardnall hatt and MM his armes standing hard by him in the roof." (fol. 13a.)

The rebus requires a moor-fowl rather than a falcon on a ton. The tomb was no doubt "very fair," that is, beautiful, when Scarlett saw it in 1599. It has gone through centuries of ill-usage since then. Scarlett looked only to the monument, and naturally thought that as in other cases, so also here, the monument indicated the burial-place of the Archbishop. He was buried not far off, no doubt, but it would seem to be a mistake to think that Cardinal Morton is buried immediately under his effigy. The monk of 1532 says that he is "buried before the altar of Blessed Mary in the crypt." This is explained to us by Godwin, who in his two black letter editions tells us that "Moorton built while he lived a sumptuous chappell in the undercrofte or vault which is under the quier. He lieth buried in the said chappell under a marble stone. Howbeit a goodly toombe is erected in memory of him upon the south side of the chappell." This is unmistakeable, and Cardinal Morton therefore lies in the crypt, to the north of his monument, and somewhat

¹ The last offering at the tomb of Archbishop Winchelsea recorded by the monastic treasurers was 17*d.* in the year 1375, sixty-two years after his death, and there had been no offering for several years before. Dr. Sheppard's *Introduction to the Literæ Cantuarienses*, vol. i. p. liii.

westward of the ancient altar of Our Lady of Undercroft. In his will he desired to be buried in front of our Lady's altar, without unnecessary pomp or expense. His executors, when they had done this, went beyond their instructions, and erected the handsome memorial to him that we see. It may be added that in the sacristy of Stonyhurst College there is a skull which is believed to be his. It probably was brought from Liege at the transfer of the College early in this century, but there is no record of any kind to say when it was given to the College.

ARCHBISHOP DEANE, 1503.

Scarlett, with the spelling on the tomb before his eyes, having first written "Henric Deane," erased the surname, and substituted "Dene," giving as his arms "argent on a chevron between three Cornish choughs proper, as many croziers or." He transcribes a good part of his inscription. "*Sometyme Prior Prioratus de Langtona,¹ deinde Bangorensis ac successive Sar. Epi, postremo vero huius altissime Ecclie Metropolit. Archi. qui die suū, &c.* He dyed xvth day of ffebruary An^o. 1502 [O. S]. Hee lieth on the ground in St. Thomas Chappell on a marble ston in brasse." The monk's list only says that he was "buried at the Martyrdom of St. Thomas the Martyr." Godwin's account of his funeral is picturesque. "Deane died at Lamhith. His body was conveighed to Feversam by water, conducted with 33 watermen all apparrelled in blacke (a great number of tapers burning day and night in the boate) and from thence carried [by the same watermen on a bier *Parker*] to Canterbury, where it was buried in the middle of the place called the Martyrdom [as he had ordered in his will, *Parker*] under a fair marble stone inlaid with brasse." Parker adds that he set aside £500 for the expenses of his funeral, and that his chaplains Wolsey and Gardiner were his executors: two historical names, better known than his own.

ARCHBISHOP WARHAM, 1532.

"William Warham lyeth in St. Thomas Chappell on a statly monument rayzed vj yeards from the ground with these armes on it, at the foote of Uffords tombe. Six coats. (1) gon." The others are tricked by Scarlett thus: (2) London impaling gules, a fess between a goat's head erased, in chief, and in base

¹ It should be *Lanthona* or *Lanthonia secunda* near Gloucester.

3 escallops argent (Warham) (3) Canterbury impaling Warham.
 (4) Christchurch Priory. (5) argent, 2 chevronels azure between
 3 Lancaster roses. (6) St. Thomas of Canterbury.

The monk whom we have called of 1532, because he must have had his list still in his hands when Archbishop Warham died in that year, says of him that he was "buried at the Martyrdom of St. Thomas under the window in the chapel which he had founded." Godwin and Parker say the same. "Warham was buried without any great funeral pomp, giving mourning clothes only to the poore, and laid in a little chappell built by himself for the place of his buriall upon the north side of the Martyrdome, and there hath a reasonable faire tombe." The chapel, however, was never built. Preparations were made for it, as may be seen in the narrow space between the transept and the Chapter House that was called "the Slype." The wall under the transept window was broken through, but an ominous crack overhead very properly frightened the architect, and the wall was hurriedly bricked up again. The lofty tomb that we now see was inserted in the transept wall, and it is curious that so many writers should call it "a chapel." Outside the church on the east side there is a little of the panelling with which the chapel was to have been lined.

CARDINAL POLE.

Reginald Poole descendid from the house of Clarence, and lieth in the upper part of the cathedrall church on the north side of the east wyndowe, who dyed the laste yeare of Queene Maryes raygne. Hee was both Cardinall and Archbishop (Scarlett, fol. 14).

On Cardynall Pools monument who dyed the last year of Queen Marye, these coats :

1. Clarence.	Montague 6.
2. Poole.	Monthermer 7.
3. Nevill E. of Sar.	Woodstock } 8, 9.
4. Beauchamp.	Wake }
5. Warwycke.	Clare 10.
	Spenser 11. (fol. 12)

It is not easy to see in the sketch given by Dart of the decorations of Cardinal Pole's tomb that remained in his time, where the coat of arms seen by Scarlett can have been. We cannot refer to the monk of Canterbury that has helped us hitherto, but another hand has added to his list, after "Thomas

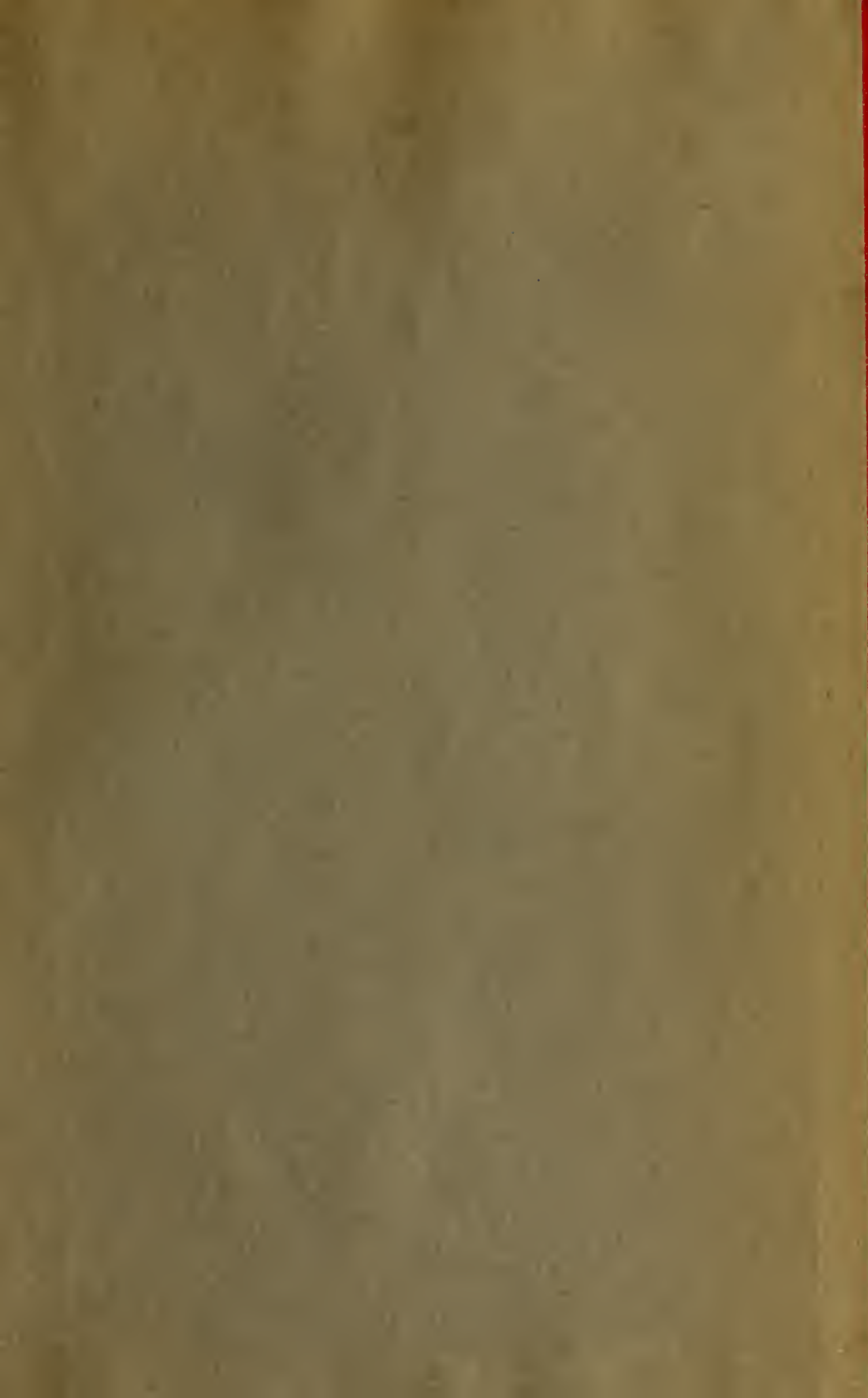
Cranmer truculenter combustus Martii 23, 1556," "Reginald Pole buried in the Church of Canterbury, in the Crown which is called Thomas Becket's." Godwin tells us that his body in a leaden coffin was taken to Canterbury and buried in the chapel of St. Thomas [on the north side of a litle chappell that is at the east end of Thomas Becket's chappell—*Godwin* in the black letter editions] with this brief notice for an epitaph, *Depositum Cardinalis Poli.*" Parker adds that his funeral was celebrated for three days, and sermons were preached in his praise in Latin and in English.

It is a mistake on Scarlett's part to say that Cardinal Pole died in the last year of Mary's reign. He survived her a few hours, and the funeral panegyrics at Canterbury, as well as the decorations on the wall above his tomb, were both of them done to his honour in the first days of Elizabeth. Wriothesley says: "Thursday xvii November 1558 about sixe in the morning, Queen Marie died at her manor of St. James by Charing Cross. . . . Friday, the xviii November Dr. Reynalde Poole Cardinal and Archbishop of Canterburie died at Lambeth in the morning, and was afterwards buried at Canterburie in Christs Church." Machyn says the same, except that he puts the Cardinal's death on "the xix in the morning, between v and vi oclock." He adds that on "the x day December was brought down from her chamber Queen Mare," and then, after describing her funeral, he continues, "the same morning my lorde Cardenall was moved from Lambeth and cared [carried] towards Canterburie with grete companie in blake . . . and he was cared in a charett with [banner] rolles wrought in figne gold and grett banners of armes, and iiij banners of saints in owlls [oils]."

The tomb now looks miserably poor, and it certainly is to be wished that Cardinal Pole might have a worthy monument. In that case it will not be like the painted plaster work with which it was at first adorned, which was in wretched taste. Why St. Christopher should have been selected as an appropriate saint, to be painted over the Cardinal's burial-place, is by no means clear. The style of the drawing, more especially of the little cherubs, is very Italian, judging by the sketch given by Dart.

PRIOR CHILLENDEN, or PRIOR EASTRY.

The rest of the burial-places of Archbishops named in our good monk's list agree with the received descriptions, but one tomb remains unappropriated, that beside Walter Reynolds' on the south of the choir, hitherto called Hubert Walter's. As a working hypothesis, Adam Chillenden may be suggested for it, who, after being Prior seven years, was elected to the archbishopric, and died before consecration in the year 1274. He was practically Henry of Eastry's predecessor, as Thomas Ringmere, who came between them, left to be a Cistercian and died in a hermitage. The tomb is of Eastry's time, and the mitred effigy, that once had a red chasuble with gold lions *passant*, as it has no crozier, would very well suit a Prior who dates before the concession by Urban the Sixth in 1380 of the use of the crozier to the Lords Priors of Christ Church, Canterbury. Henry of Eastry was himself buried between the images or pictures of St. Osyth and St. Apollonia. This, it is to be feared, is *ignotum per ignotius*, but some day the whereabouts of these images may be known, and that may help to determine whether this tomb is Prior Henry of Eastry's. Meanwhile, we may in imagination well replace an image of our Lady on the second pier of the nave on the south side, as Archbishop William Wittlesey was buried between the second and third pier, not counting the tower piers, and the Corpus manuscript says that he was "in the nave, before the image of Blessed Mary." And in like manner we can in our fancy restore an image of our Divine Saviour to the south-eastern transept near the place where, as we have seen, Archbishop Robert Winchelsey was buried. Somner, to identify the place of his tomb, made use of an extract from one of the church records, which speaks of a gift made for "the light of the throne opposite to the image of our Saviour opposite to the altars of St. John the Evangelist and St. Gregory." From this passage it is that we learn the existence of the image of our Saviour, but the repetition of the word *contra*, "over against" or "opposite to," makes it difficult to say on which side of the transept it stood; neither is it clear what the "throne" was that is described as opposite to it, or what the "light" was burned to honour.



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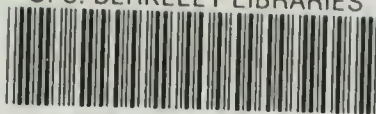
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